1: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1940
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

for them, water and in other ways care for their calves, clean their kraal, and dry their dung for fuel. Nuer wash their hands and faces in the urine of the cattle, especially when cows urinate during milking, drink their milk and blood, and sleep on their hides by the side of their smouldering dung. They cover their bodies, dress their hair, and clean their teeth with the ashes of cattle dung, and eat their food with spoons made from their horns. When the cattle return in the evening they tether each beast to its peg with cords made from the skins of their dead companions and sit in the windscreens to contemplate them and to watch them being milked. A man knows each animal of his herd and of the herds of his neighbours and kinsmen: its colour, the shape of its horns, its peculiarities, the number of its teats, the amount of milk it gives, its history, its ancestry and its progeny. Miss Soule tells me that most Nuer know the points of the dam and grand-dam of a beast and that some know the points of its forebears up to five generations of ascent. A Nuer knows the habits of all his oxen, how one bellows in the evenings, how another likes to lead the herd on its return to camp, and how another tosses its head more than the rest are wont to do. He knows which cows are restless during milking, which are troublesome with their calves, which like to drink on the way to pasture, and so forth.

If he is a young man he gets a boy to lead his favourite ox, after which he takes his name, round the camp in the morning and leaps and sings behind it; and often at night he walks among the cattle ringing an ox-bell and singing the praises of his kinsmen, his sweethearts, and his oxen. When his ox comes home in the evening he pets it, rubs ashes on its back, removes ticks from its belly and scrotum, and picks adherent dung from its anus. He tethers it in front of his windscreen so that he can see it if he wakes, for no sight so fills a Nuer with contentment and pride as his oxen. The more he can display the happier he is, and to make them more attractive he decorates their horns with long tassels, which he can admire as they toss their heads and shake them on their return to camp, and their necks with bells, which tinkle in the pastures. Even the bull calves are adorned by their boy-owners with wooden beads and bells (Fig. 13). The horns of young bulls, destined to be

6: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936)1938
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

312 233 drink. Each beast also soon gets to know its special trough and when loosened or when returning from pasture at once makes for it, though when the camp starts there is often confusion, for if an animal approaches a trough that does not belong to its master it is driven away by the owner of the trough and cows are thus driven from trough to trough till they discover the right one and join the other cattle of their household which are drinking there.

[578] On the arrival of a new household at the camp their kinsmen allow them to use their troughs till they have dug their own wells. Frequent disputes take place over wells for a man guards his water jealously. While I was at Yik several persons near Muŏt tŏt were killed in a fight that started in a dispute about wells.

A boy is placed on duty to watch the troughs all day long and often he plants a thorn bush in the bed of the river near his troughs and throws some grass on its branches so that he may have a little shade in the heat of the day. The lad's main duty is to prevent the sheep and goats from drinking water at the troughs reserved for the cattle for the cattle do not like drinking after them and they foul the water. Sheep and goats either have their own troughs or are allowed to drink when the cattle have had their fill. But as they graze unattended near the camp they may return at any time and try to drink from one of the cattle-troughs. A boy who allows sheep [681 593] and goats belonging to another household to drink the water drawn for his father's cattle is in for a whipping from his elder brother. Even the crows are driven away from the precious water. The most other boys will do to warn a sleepy comrade that the water of his trough is being drunk is to sing out "*Caa lil o, caa lil*" and one constantly hears this refrain in the camp. When a boy sings this chant every lad looks to his troughs to make sure that it is not from them that water is being drunk.

312 No washing is allowed from the troughs and if a man wants a bath he must get a comrade to pour water over him at a well-side. [515] Every care is taken to keep the water clean and the wells are frequently inspected. If the water is discoloured a man descends to the bottom,

6: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936)1938
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

vary much from month to month for there are few seasonal changes at this time of the year. As the river falls it is possible to fish in lagoons and shallows and to bathe on its sandy bed. Then the lagoons dry up. When the river rises fish swim in the weeds and rushes and along some streams they are easily speared from the banks. The banks of the Sobat are too steep for this purpose. There are no longer shallows and bathing is a hasty dip for there is danger from crocodiles. The grazing grounds are changed from time to time as they become exhausted and as streams and lagoons dry up. At Yakwac there was succulent pasturage only where marsh plants still retained their moisture at the river end of lagoons. The people are still in camp when the first rains fall at the end of April or early in May and then there is everywhere an abundance of pasturage. The brown bush becomes green and the baked fissured earth a sodden mire. Dry lagoons become inland flowing streams. The scorching sun is clouded.

On the Sobat we guessed that the first rains had fallen inland by the migration of wild animals from its banks. Giraffe now left us for inland pastures where they would not have to face death every time they approached the river. Other animals likewise moved southwards, even the gazelle. On the northern bank, however, buffaloes still came to the river to drink and were attacked by hungry Nuer. Animals and men must obey the seasons and when there is no water except in inland lakes and lagoons, men, cattle, and wild beasts must drink at the same places. One can hear them at night cautiously coming to the pools to drink. When the rains come all leave for new pastures.

In May one knows that the move back to the wet season villages will shortly take place not only by cloudy skies and movements of game, but also by camp activities. The women are the first to leave camp and one meets them along paths, carrying their household goods in rectangular cane baskets. Youths leave camp early in the morning to cut stakes, generally of thornwood (*bwan*) and they spend a large part of the day shaping them into tethering pegs. They also twist new cord. The weather being cooler people do not feel so keenly the need to sleep towards noon. Everyone is becoming restless and

14: Huffman M-5 (no date) 1931
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

cow manure until he is a greyish-white. He keeps his hair either cut short or shaved off entirely (possibly a tuft may be left on the top of the head), or he lets it grow long and bleaches it by frequent applications of cow-manure ashes applied wet. While the bleaching process goes on he may dress his hair in various styles with a point at the back or at the front or at both places. When the hair is bleached to a light bronze shade he dusts the ashes out of it and is quite proud of the effect. Long black hair is worn only by medicine men. The Nuer man may continue to adorn his body with ornaments and ashes and will especially do so if he is planning another marriage.

The Nuer usually have clean teeth. They clean them with cow-manure ashes, using a twig the end of which has been chewed into the semblance of a small brush.

Nuer men, possibly because they use ashes so constantly on their bodies, and probably because they do not usually wear clothing, seldom have lice. But the strands of beads worn by women and girls are often infested with them.

The Nuer age early, and both men and women look older than they really are. One would guess some of the older men one meets at between 65 and 70. The Nuer woman usually keeps her erect carriage, but in middle life her flabby breasts, broken teeth, or vacant places where teeth have been pulled out tend to increase the appearance of age.

Clothing is not considered essential by the Nuer man and is not usually worn. He may wear a bright coloured cloth—resembling a red plaid tablecloth, only somewhat more brilliant, he may be satisfied with a piece of the cheap blue cloth that is sold by the Arab merchant, his cloth may be of unbleached muslin, or possibly the District Commissioner has honoured him by giving him a cloth or (if he is a chief) one of the gowns they usually give the

14: Huffman M-5 (no date) 1931
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

Water must be heated in the late afternoon for the baby's bath. 512 854 It is no short process. (Fig. 11)

A MAN'S WORK

A man's work usually begins at sunrise too. He has 512 probably slept in the barn. He arises, covered with cow- [515] manure ashes. He cleans his teeth with the ash and later on in the morning may wash his face and hands. While he may drink a large quantity of water during the day he seldom drinks any water before breakfast or with a meal. He usually stays among the cattle until he is called to his [231] breakfast about nine o'clock. Then he eats and is ready to spend the day among the cattle. He takes them out to graze about ten o'clock in the morning and returns with them in the late afternoon. He loves his cattle. His day is a happy one spent in their midst, his human companions being other men who have taken their cattle out to graze also. His spear and club are ever with him. In the late afternoon he comes home with his cattle, finding his supper is being prepared. A plunge in the river every time he goes to it refreshes him. After supper is over visiting until bedtime is the usual close of the work of the average day.

The day's work may be varied if any of his cattle are 512 sick or if there is a dance which he wishes to attend. Or 691 maybe the District Commissioner is in the village hearing cases or collecting taxes, and so he joins the throng and spends his day listening to the cases or bringing up some case of his own before this representative of the Government.

During the planting season, the fishing season, or the 512 season when the dura must be cut, this daily programme of the Nuer man differs and his work for the day may be a little more strenuous.